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AUTHOR Becker, Theodore L.
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ABSTRACT

This paper reviews the experiments done over the past 20 years with Televote, a generic term referring to voting by telecommunications (telephone, computers, etc.) As a method of public opinion polling, it is highly innovative and responsive to many of the criticisms often levied against public opinion research. The researcher describes work at the University of New Zealand and in Los Angeles. His personal research involved students conducting a content analysis of newspapers as to determine what the most important topics of concern were for a specified time period. The students and professors then interviewed via telephone for responses to survey questions. Approximately 380 Televoters were interviewed on any given topic. Of the 17 students who comprised the initial Televote staff, 15 replied to an anonymous questionnaire on the value of this interactive polling practice. Televote experiments demonstrate that public opinion polling in this manner delivers an informed, deliberate public opinion, and is a valuable experiential learning approach when used in the university setting. (EH)

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The Televote Experiments:
How Students Help Citizens Develop Informed and Deliberated Public Opinion

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By Theodore L. Becker
Auburn University

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This essay will describe a rather unique experiment in American democracy and an equally original test of experiential learning. The lesson: how to enhance citizen participation in a modern representative democracy via an undergraduate political science course.

Public Opinion and Democracy

What the public thinks about the way its government is being run, the government's agenda and the policies of government is a very important factor in democracy, whether it be in a representative or direct democratic form. The theory of representative democracy maintains that public opinion is channeled through the electoral process and helps decide whether those in power are doing a good enough job to be re-elected. If not, public opinion--as manifested through the behavior of a majority of the voters--will result in their recall from office. It is a check on political power and political leaders ignore it at their peril.

Indeed, in modern republics (the usual term for representative democracies or, as they are also called, indirect democracies), those who run for office use public opinion polling in a wide variety of forms to see what is important to those most likely to show up at the ballot box. They hire expensive political consultants to analyze scientific "snapshots" of public opinion most relevant to their election so as to determine how to shape and style their campaign. Once in office, public opinion polls, particularly those conducted by the mass media, continue to inform them of any changes so that they may respond in some fashion to them. Thus, public opinion polls are a technological re-creation of the key philosophical foundation of the republican form of government, e.g., they reveal the "consent of the governed" and/or the lack thereof.

Public opinion has an equally, if not more, significant role to play in direct democracy. In direct democratic forms like initiative, referendum and town meetings, public opinion (that

segment of it that turns out to vote) is what becomes active policy, that is, public opinion gets directly transformed into law by the voters. Legislation, in this case, is no longer left to the representatives of the people. It becomes the work of the people themselves.

Problems with the Theory

Of course, as with all theories, reality doesn't fit so neatly. In fact, the gap between the theory of how public opinion is supposed to work in representative democracies and how it actually works is so great that the theory is often referred to these days as "mythology." Shelves full of books over the past decades have demonstrated that public opinion (whether that be determined by scientific samples or by self-selected samples of voters) has little relationship to keeping representatives accountable to the people. Indeed, it is now clear that a huge industry has been constructed to "manufacture" the consent of the governed for the benefit of ruling political, economic and social elites.

There are a number of reasons given by those in power as to why they pay so little attention to "public opinion," particularly that part of it measured by modern opinion survey companies. They note that what passes for "public opinion" is really nothing more than "off-the-top-of-the-head" reactions to simple questions posed by the pollsters. Many studies have revealed that, indeed, such "public opinion" is spontaneous and often is based on little information and/or a lot of misinformation. So, legislators and other political leaders discount it as being either (a) an inaccurate reading of what public opinion is or (b) an accurate measure of the poor quality of the opinion of scientific samples of the citizenry. In either event, public opinion is readily dismissed as not being worth very much to those who run the country other than by giving them some idea about which way the wind blows prior to elections. And the main function at that time

is to find out the best "buzzwords" to include in the 30-second TV spots, that is, to make 50% of the voters believe that the candidates will do what that group wants once they are elected or re-elected to office.

The truth be told, there is a great deal of evidence to support such a critique of modern public opinion polling techniques. Although public opinion polling for political purposes first appeared on the American scene in 1824, there were other sporadic attempts at it throughout the latter part of the 19th century and the early part of the 20th. It wasn't until George Gallup set up his political survey company in 1935, though, that public opinion polling became regular, systematic and independent of the media--a permanent feature of American political life between elections.

However, even as it became a growth industry in the United States, political polls suffered through and from some highly publicized and devastating mistakes, particularly in predicting presidential "horse races." In 1948, all the major, national public opinion organizations forecast a landslide for Thomas Dewey over President Harry S. Truman. The only avalanche came in the form of heavy criticism and gleeful derision from all quarters after Truman was re-elected.

This highly publicized gaff came about because it was the common practice among pollsters at that time to quit surveying a few days before the actual election. Contemporary pollsters continue asking questions right up to Election Day. In fact, they even intercept people coming out of the voting booths to see if their pre-election day predictions are on target. Because of this and other corrections that are constantly being made, modern pollsters are pretty accurate in predicting electoral results.

Using survey techniques to gauge public opinion on complex issues of policy, though, is quite another matter. All modern issue polling, no matter how scientific the sample and how careful the design of the questions, still fails to provide the respondents with much (if any) relevant information and/or expert opinion. Moreover, the reply sought is immediate, no matter what the person might be doing or thinking at the moment. Isn't adequate information about the subject and time to think about it the essence of coming to a sound judgment on a policy? We expect our elected officials to take at least some time to grasp an issue and consider its implications and consequences. We expect them to marshal at least some data while considering various sides of an issue. Small wonder that elected officials are quick to disparage the opinion of citizens who have had no opportunity to do the same.

Of course, pollsters are not the only sources of poorly informed public opinion. There are many manufacturers of public mis- and non-information on issues, including the electronic media, the newspapers, and even elected officials themselves. George Gallup was once asked what kind of job he thought the press was doing in furnishing the American people the information needed by the attentive public to form intelligent opinion on major issues. He responded: "The press is far too much concerned with spot news reporting. The press would do a better job if it put much greater emphasis on informing the people about the issues, giving the people the background of the issues, and interpreting the news in a thoughtful and interesting way." (McDonald 1962, 25)

The situation is even worse in 1995 than it was when Gallup made his observation. The reason for this is obvious enough. Study after study indicates that over 70% of the American people get all or most of its news and information on politics from television--a medium notorious for its poor memory and minuscule attention span. Furthermore, today's issues seem ever more

complex, requiring even more information and more time for reflection. Thus, public opinion is probably in a more precarious situation today in America than ever before. The public wants and needs to be included in the policy-making process, but public opinion pollsters continue to utilize the outdated methods that produce a poor quality of public opinion that is based mostly on superficial TV reportage.

The Televote Method of Polling as a Solution to the Problem.

Over the past 20 years, there have been a series of experiments in California, Hawaii and New Zealand known as "the Televote experiments." Televote, as a generic term, simply means voting-by-telecommunications (telephone, computer, etc.) However, as a method of public opinion polling, it is highly innovative and responsive to many of the above mentioned criticisms.

Televote differs from conventional polling in that it provides respondents with undisputed information about an issue, balanced arguments for and against various aspects of proposed solutions, and a wide range of options. It also yields ample time for the respondents to think and about the problem or issue and encourages them to discuss it with as many friends, family members, co-workers, or experts that he or she desires. Dr. Vincent Campbell, who invented this method of polling under a National Science Foundation grant in 1974 put it like this: "If citizen opinions are to have beneficial effect on government decisions, they should be well-informed and thoughtful. The Televote system informs people by giving them summaries of information relevant to the issues, easy access to more detailed information, and time to think the whole matter over before deciding." (Campbell 1975, 5)

Campbell worked with the San Jose, California Board of Education, the local Parent-Teachers Association and some concerned citizens to set up an agenda of what were the most

pressing educational issues facing the City of San Jose. As a result of this research, information was gathered relevant to these issues and was disseminated to the general public through radio, television and newspapers. In addition, a ballot was prepared and citizens were invited to participate in the project by registering to vote. Upon registration, they were given a personal identification number which they had to dial in before their vote would be counted. Prior to the balloting on each issue, the Televoters received a packet of information in the mail about the issue under consideration. An automated computer program tallied the votes of those Televoters who telephoned in their responses. Within a few days, the results of each of the 9 Televotes were mailed by the Televote staff to the Board of Education, to the PTA, and to the media.

How successful was this initial Televote experiment? The results were mixed. Perhaps the major flaw in the process was that it produced a highly biased sample of Televoters. As in most real referenda, those who participate do not represent the entire spectrum of the population. It is "public opinion" alright, but an awkwardly skewed variation of the public-at-large. This was to be expected given the system of recruitment and voting. In addition, the system was quite expensive, costing $30,000 in 1974. If we wanted to improve on conventional polling, some drastic changes had to be made in the Televote method devised by Campbell.

Improving the Televote Method of Polling

A team of political scientists at the University of Hawaii heard about the Televote experiment in 1977 and was impressed by its design and some of its results. The State of Hawaii was just about ready to embark on a Constitutional Convention, scheduled for the summer of 1978 and there were some extremely important and complex issues that were going to be on the

agenda: initiative and referendum, the method of appointing judges, nuclear power, protection of the environment, etc.

The Televote group believed that this new method of polling would be ideal for such complicated issues. The citizenry needed some basic information and some time to think about it. What other method of polling could provide those essential elements? On the other hand, there were those pressing problems. How could we eliminate the huge bias in the sample? Then there was the matter of money. Who could pay for the most expensive part of such a polling system, i.e., the Televote staff? Maybe there was some way to cut down on expenses. After thinking the problems through, the Hawaii Televote group found the answers.

First, the method of recruiting the Televoters was changed. Instead of letting the Televoters choose themselves, the new Televote method was to utilize the conventional polling method of telephone random digit dialing. Upon reaching a citizen, they were then asked if they would be willing to receive a Televote information brochure in the mail, to read it, to take the time to discuss it with friends, family, etc, and then to answer the questions on the brochure and give their opinion to the Televote staff. If they agreed to all this, we would sign them up and mail them the brochure.

The next problem area was how to get enough Televoters to follow through on this so that we wouldn't still end up with a highly biased sample. Early on in the process, we found that this was indeed a problem, i.e., only a small percentage were calling in their votes. So, we needed the Televote staff to do a great deal of telephoning, reminding the Televoters of their promise to cooperate and many times getting them to answer the Televote questions while we had them on the line.

The final problem was money. How to get a Televote staff to do this without any funding. Where would we get the money for mailing out the brochure? How were we going to pay for the telephone bills? Where would we get money to rent an office? The answers were staring the Televote team in the face as they pondered the questions in the offices of the Department of Political Science. The key was to come up with the right question: **Why not make Televote into a university course**?

Televote as Experiential Learning in Modern Democracy

Once the idea hit the Televote team, everything began falling into place. We would add a "practicum" or "internship" course into our curriculum that specified "Televote" as the practical experience. What's the difference if the experience takes place inside the university, particularly if the relationship is with the outside community? In terms of program, it could fit within the broad spectrum allowed under the rubric "American Government," and if it would be utilized by a particular agency of government, like the Department of Health, it could readily be an internship within a "Public Administration" program.

For starters, the course would touch on democratic theory and the fundamentals of American government, the legislative process and public administration. Some of the readings would focus on the plethora of modern criticism of all this theory and institutional analysis, particularly that emphasizing the difficulties and lack of citizen participation and the problems of public opinion mentioned above.

After a short course in the history and procedures of modern public opinion polling in America, the students would be introduced to the Televote process developed by Campbell and

the shortcomings thereof. At that point, the Televote team would introduce its innovations and the class would be ready to become the Televote staff.

With agreement from the department chair, the Televote office would be ready for action. What was needed was a telephone bank and mailing privileges. The main office telephone system could be used as the telephone bank, particularly since all the Televoter recruiting and interaction with the Televoters can be limited to off-hours, like 5-9 P.M. and weekends. These are the best times to reach a representative sample of the population anyway, since these are the best times to reach the American workforce. The office phones of one or two faculty can be utilized to recruit and interact with other citizens during ordinary working hours, i.e., to recruit those citizens who work evenings and weekends. Random digit dialing lists can be purchased from regular polling companies for a modest sum and the mailing privileges of the university can be used for such educational purposes. Designing and printing the Televote brochure, while somewhat costly in the late 1970s is relatively easy these days with the advent of computer desktop publishing programs.

Once these curriculum matters are taken care of and the material support system is in place, the Televote class must be converted into the Televote staff. By the time they have become fully acquainted with the problems in modern American democracy, most are highly motivated to give the revised Televote system the old college try.

Organizing and Supervising the Televote Staff

Organizing and running a Televote out of the curriculum, employing students who have had no experience at conducting even an ordinary public opinion poll, is not easily done. However, if there are an adequate number of students enrolled in the course (12-15) and they are

organized into functional departments, the entire operation can be run smoothly and professionally.

(a) *The Agenda Setting Process:*

The initial function of the Televote staff is to determine what issue will serve as the focus of the Televote. This is an important matter and the students must understand that setting the agenda for the process is not something to be taken lightly and is something for which they may take a lot of flak subsequently. The reason for this is that some critics are likely to claim that the Televote staff--if it acts capriciously in selecting the subject of the Televote--is merely showing its bias and that is nothing different from what elite-controlled or elite-influenced survey companies and/or legislators are attacked for doing.

One method of determining what are important or the most important issues on the public's mind is to do a content analysis of recent newspapers, i.e., the articles, the editorials and, of course, the letters to the editors. If there were a recent political campaign, the literature of the candidates could be examined as well. The staff could be "scientific" about it or, if it is pretty obvious from the written materials, come to some kind of agreement on what are clearly major problems or issues in the public mind.

The latter methodology was used mostly in determining what issues should be the subject of the Televotes. However, we also tried another method which proved to be quite successful: asking a random sample of Telvoters and culling from that what we called "The Public Agenda." This was done in much the same way we gathered a long list of issues from the newspapers and campaign flyers. However, once we had this lengthy list, we put them into a Televote brochure

and used the Televote method on a random sample of citizens and let them come up with a list of priorities. The public's agenda then dictated the next two substantive Televotes we conducted.

A number of democratic lessons were learned by the Televote staff through this process. First, we got an excellent response from the public for this process, in other words, it was easy to sign up Televoters for this process which indicated that citizens were equally, if not more, willing to think about and give their opinion on agenda-setting as they had been on making policy decisions or deciding constitutional issues. Second, much as the critics had warned, the Televote staff view on the public's agenda was wrong. The random sample of Televoters came up with a different list than what the Televote staff expected. Third, despite our care in the entire process and the fact that the Televoters' demographics were as good or better than on previous Televotes, the media was highly skeptical of the results. They thought they had a better idea of what was important to the public than did 400+ Televoters. Fourth, nevertheless, one of the major network stations used the Televote results as the basis for a 5-day series of issue-oriented news shows the following week.

The agenda-setting process, then, was an excellent experiential learning in how the public and elites may well think differently about what are the most pressing issues of the day.

(b) *The Research Committee-of-the-Whole*

Once the Televote staff has selected the Televote topic, the next major step is to do the research. This is an intensive process and a great deal must be done in a short time. So, the entire staff (class) becomes the Televote research department. Some of the staff assigns itself to the library or computer on-line (Internet) research work. They realize that the Televote brochure is not going to be book length, so that they must choose only some basic facts that are completely

undisputed. For example, if the topic was initiative and referendum, they needed to find out how many states had such, when they began doing them, what percentage of them are passed, and items like that. The general idea is not to overwhelm the Televoter with data, but to give them enough basic data to educate them in the fundamentals and to stimulate their thinking and talking about the issue. What with on-line computer researching becoming so available at this time, the Televote staff could provide further information upon request of the Televoters during later stages in the Televote process.

Another major function of the Televote research staff is to obtain and write up the pro and con arguments of advocates of two or more positions on the issue under consideration. This can be done mostly via the newspaper content analysis that served as the foundation for determining the agenda. However, it is also important that experts or proponents of various viewpoints personally agree with the verbiage of their positions in the Televote brochure. Thus, once the major opposing arguments are written down and agreed to by the staff, then they must be taken to prominent proponents on both or multiple sides for their editing and ultimate agreement.

There are a multitude of important lessons in this part of the Televote course/process. First, students learn to do basic research on public issues via the library on computer on-line methods. Second, they learn to work together--to collaborate and cooperate--with one another as researchers and analysts. Third, they meet with political and community leaders in the role of facilitator in order to work out the best wording in the pro-and-con argument section of the Televote--and also play an important public relations role for the Televote process while doing that.

The final stage of the research process comes when professional pollsters are invited to attend the Televote staff meeting that must agree on the final product. The pollsters, who were provided copies of the draft prior to their arrival, then pepper the staff with questions about the data, the wording, any biases they detect. This gives the staff an opportunity to be criticized by experts and, once they have made necessary changes satisfactory to the professionals, it gives them a good deal of confidence in the final product.

Meanwhile, the participating faculty member or members have been working with illustrators, a printing company and a survey company to come up with the final design of the brochure and to procure the random digit dialing lists. The Televote survey process is about to begin.

(c) ***The Interactive Polling Process***

The Televote polling process, in contradistinction to all other conventional public opinion survey processes, is **highly interactive.** This puts a great deal of work and pressure on the Televote staff as salespersons, interviewers, and educators. In addition, because of the persistent load of work required, the Televote staff must learn to work together very closely in a high pressure situation.

Right from the start, the Televote staff is well aware that the key to success is to get a high percentage of citizens who are reached by phone to sign up for the process. At least 50% of those contacted need to be recruited in order to get within or very close to the +/- 5% on each demographic variable. So learning how to be a good telemarketer is a quintessential aspect of the program.

Once again, everyone in the class, plus the professors, are part of the Televote interview staff, and remain in that position until the required number of Televoters answers the survey. The minimum quota is that number theoretically required for a +/- 5% margin of error, or approximately 380 Televoters.

This call-out (recruitment) and call-back (reminding the Televoters of their commitment to read the Televote, discuss it, and vote on it) period takes between 2-3 weeks. Because of all the call-backs that are usually necessary, an elaborate system of record-keeping is needed, and in order to maintain some quality control, supervision is also required. Once again, the democratic lessons that are learned in this stage of the Televote are numerous and impressive.

First, the students learn the importance of working together as a team, a team that is dedicated to improving the quality of public participation in the political process. Second, they learn that citizens in all walks of life are not only willing, but eager to take some time out of their busy and troubled lives to work on this project for no material reward. Third, they discover that only a very few of those who must be re-called numerous times get angry and/or drop out. Fourth, they find out by asking all those who complete the Televote whether they would like to participate in the project again in the future, that fully 90% of them (even those who have been recalled a dozen times) say they would.

Being a Televote staff interviewer, then, is a superb lesson in participatory democracy for the students through their own personal experience. It is a rebuke to those in power who repeat their tired refrain that the public is apathetic and disinterested in politics and would never take the time and trouble necessary to study the complicated issues that legislators must resolve. Televote interviewers learn first-hand just how wrong this argument is and understand from an intense

personal experience how grateful many citizens are to be asked to be Televoters--even though most of them are highly skeptical that anyone in government will care anything about what the results of the Televote will be. They are satisfied enough when they are told that the results will be broadcast on radio and TV and will appear in one of the major newspapers in their town, state or nation. In other words, it is just as, or more, important for citizens to know what a random sample of the citizenry has to say about agendas and issues after informed deliberation as it is for them to believe that those in power care about and/or would act on it. Once the Televote staff responds in this fashion to skeptical queries from prospective Televoters, it usually sets their minds at rest and they agree to participate.

(d) *The Public Relations Committee*

As the Televote call-back process is winding down, some of the interview staff is relieved of their duties as such and form the Public Relations Committee. The duties of this committee are as follows:

First, they take the substantive and demographic information from the records--which can be constantly updated on the computer system, and analyze the results. Meeting as a staff, they decide how to organize this information into a short "news release." After they have come up with the draft of that, they present it at a full Televote staff meeting for criticism, addition and editing. Then, the final version of the "news release" is written.

Second, the Public Relations Committee then sends a copy of the news release to all media outlets in the city, state, country by mail or fax. At the same time, they will be telephoning key people in the major newspapers, TV stations and radio stations and tell them that they will have a press conference the next day to discuss the news release. Finally, the PR committee will mail a

copy of the press release to all important people in the community who have an interest in this particular issue, including legislators, administrators, community leaders, and the like.

That evening, the PR Committee is grilled by the rest of the Televote staff on various questions concerning the theory and methodology of the Televote process, the results, and what they think the government will do with the results. This is a sort of "dress-rehearsal" for the real thing, which is usually attended by a fair representation of the press.

The lessons learned from this experience are also dramatic and rewarding. For example, the students on the PR committee learn the rudiments of the public relations game--in terms of how to set up a news release, a press conference and how to deal with various members of the mass media. The way modern mass media relate to surveys and to citizens is an important part of contemporary democracy and this gives students an inside view of their attitudes and modus vivendi.

Next, in a very real sense, the students on the PR committee learn to play a novel and difficult role, i.e., as advocates of this innovative method of polling. At the same time, they are reporters of the state of public opinion on important topics. As such, they also gain valuable insights into the range of attitudes and opinion in the media on these subjects.

Finally, once again, the students are thrust into a collaborative, team-like relationship--this time under the glare of the white-hot television lights.

(e) *Establishing a Televote Network at a State or National Level*

This experience, using Televote as a college course, was also replicated at a **national level** during the New Zealand Televote in 1981. This was done by weaving together a **Televote Network** that connected three universities at different parts of the country (Christchurch College,

Victoria University of Wellington and Auckland University). Each professor used a similar syllabus and mode of operations and worked together via the mail and telephone. The country was divided into regions (south, central and north) which were serviced by the Televote staff (students) in each part of the country.

When it came to organizing the data and preparing for the press release and conference, all this was done at the central location. Thus, the students at Victoria University of Wellington were the only ones to be on the Public Relations Committee. But the students at the other universities received all the other aspects, e.g., learning the theoretical material and applying it through all the other experiences in the Televoting process.

Finally, after discussing the entire project with the professors at the other universities, they agreed that the students were completely engaged by the process and that they all gave it high evaluations as experiential learning. This brings us to evaluating Televote-- both as an exercise in experiential learning at the college level and as a new method of interactive polling facilitated by undergraduate students at one or a network of colleges and universities.

The Results of Televote

(a) *Impact on the Students:*

First and foremost, what was the impact of the Televote process on the students who participated in it--as students, as researchers, survey designers, interviewers, analysts, and public relations experts? Anecdotally, it was my impression, after running a number of these Televote courses, that the students enjoyed the entire process immensely and profited greatly from their experiences.

This is not to say that all was peaches and cream. When a professor organizes a course along democratic lines, giving students a great deal of power and a sense of equality with the professor in many of the functions of the class, there is bound to be a degree of uncertainty and chaos that characterizes the situation. This makes some students very edgy and permits an environment conducive to personality conflicts and other difficulties resulting from the lack of the usual classroom structure. This occurred occasionally and subtracted from some of the positive effects of the course. Nevertheless, the overall impression of the students was usually highly favorable and from this professor's point of view, each Televote course was an exceptional learning experience in (a) the Televote process and (b) how to teach such a highly flexible experiential course.

Some data from the first Televote course are exemplary. At the end of it, we asked the 17 students who comprised the initial Televote staff to evaluate the course in a written, anonymous cessionaire. 15 replied. Out of that group: 80% gave the course an A; 20 gave it a B; 87% believed that Televote should become a permanent part of the political science curriculum; 80% said that the course was "among the best" or "the best" course they ever took at the university; 80% noted that their general attitude towards Televote as a method of public opinion polling was "extremely favorable," while the other 20% rated their attitude towards Televote as being "favorable." Perhaps the most telling comment, however, was a qualitative one made by one student who said that "We, the students, got to see our society in real action, not in theory or the way it is supposed to work."

But what other effects did this student-facilitated interactive polling process have? After all, there were about a dozen Televote experiments that spanned 8 years from 1978-85. The

students who strived so diligently to make this process successful learned a great deal, true, but they should also be given credit for a great deal of the accomplishments. Without their enthusiastic performances of the "sales pitch," without their persistence in convincing the Televoters that we really **needed and appreciated** their participation, without their determination to accumulate the proper demographic mixture, without their zeal to promote the results to the press--this experiment in modern participatory democracy could not have succeeded to the extent that it did. So, it is important that as the positive results of the Televote experiments unfold, that it be remembered that the professionalism and altruism of hundreds of college students in an experiential learning process at several universities were the proximate cause of all its success.

(a) *Impact on Government*

Cynics would say that there was noway that a poll like Televote, designed and staffed by undergraduate students, could ever cause even a ripple in the halls of government. Skeptics would say that the likelihood of such was minimal, at best. And idealists would see government rushing to use the Televote results as a guide towards widely acceptable legislation. The truth lies somewhere between the views of the skeptics and the idealists.

The major variable in the impact of the Televote process was, indeed, who staffed it and who sponsored it. Indeed, the most effective Televotes, in terms of influencing governmental policy, were not university-based and student-staffed. One was sponsored by the Hawaii State Department of Health and another was sponsored by the Southern California Association of Governments and staffed by a professional polling company. In each of these, the results of the Televote were plugged immediately into decision-making processes and were directly related to policy changes that met with substantial public approval.

Televotes that were based in the college curriculum and that were not sponsored by a governmental entity were noticeably less impactful. But that does not mean that nothing came of the effort.

For example, in the very first experiment emanating from the Department of Political Science at the University of Hawaii, the results were actually quite dramatic. They went something like this:

Whether or not to have initiative and referendum at the state level was by far and away the hottest topic that the 1978 State Constitutional Convention was about to handle. It was the major issue in the campaigns for the 102 seats at ConCon. It was the principal issue that divided the delegates. So, even though it became the subject of the very first Televote and was decided upon by the Televote staff along with the group of professors who organized it, there was no doubt of its political importance and salience.

There had been two major conventional polls run prior to the ConCon that had surveyed the people of the state on the issue of initiative and referendum. The first, about 6 months prior to the convention, found about half of the voters were undecided on the issue. The second, a few months before the event, found that nearly one-third of the respondents were still unsure. Both of these surveys were revealing the hidden secret, i.e., that very few citizens knew much, if anything, about initiative and referendum--a subject rarely covered in high school civics, college courses, or the ordinary run of political campaigns.

The opponents of initiative and referendum warned of many dire consequences should the State of Hawaii write such a provision into its new constitution. But the blackest smear was that initiative and referendum was the darling of white, mainland intellectuals--and that the "local"

folks of Hawaii--the Hawaiians, the Japanese, the Chinese, the Filipinos--were opposed to such alien notions of self-governance.

Meanwhile, the Televote team was busily at work researching and printing up the Televote and recruiting a random sample of the people of Hawaii to read it, think about it, and talk to their circle of friends and relatives about it. The process--being brand new--was not easy and there was a lot of anxiety as to whether we would really get good demographics. Ultimately, what we had hoped for and worked so hard to accomplish--the students and the professors--came to pass. We got about 400 completed Televotes, the demographics were similar to those of any conventional telephone or interview polls in Hawaii, and the substantive results were eye-popping!!

What we found was that fully **86%** of the Televoters--an excellent, representative sample of the people of the state, favored some form of initiative and referendum. Better yet, they were particularly impressed with **indirect initiative** (which had barely been mentioned in the press, in the campaigns or during the early stages of debate at the ConCon). But we had described it as part of our undisputed facts section of the Televote, and this showed us that the Televoters were surely reading and thinking about the material. What was particularly interesting was that all those "locals"--the Japanese-Americans, the Hawaiian-Americans, the Filipino-Americans--**all these groups were heavily in favor of initiative and referendum**.

So, the Public Relations Committee prepared its news release and delivered the results to the press--as well as to the delegates of the ConCon, via a Televote Room that we had been allotted in the building in which the ConCon was being held. As luck would have it, the CBS TV affiliate in Hawaii led off its news broadcast that night with an expose on the power clique that was controlling the ConCon. They were strongly opposed to initiative and referendum, but had

claimed that they never held any secret meetings about it (since that was in violation of the Sunshine Laws of the state). But the CBS camera had caught them coming out of a downtown restaurant together and highlighted that on its 6 o'clock news.

Right after this story, they broke the news about the Televote. They described the process in some detail and then presented the results. They played up the huge consensus in favor and then mentioned that the consensus held throughout all ethnic and economic groups. The clear thrust of both stories was that a small power elite in the ConCon was violating the law in order to oppose what the people of Hawaii overwhelmingly wanted.

So what effect did this Televote have, other than to support some vigorous TV investigative reporting? Most importantly, initiative and referendum was defeated at the ConCon. This hardly meant that Televote had no influence. A number of delegates in favor of initiative employed the results during the debate. In a follow-up survey after ConCon, many delegates said that they were aware of the Televote and its results and thought it was a good idea for the state legislature to use it in the future.

However, sometimes the impact of Televote is not readily seen and doesn't instantly transform into law. In the case of the Televote on initiative, the lead professor in the Televote course was called on the telephone the day after the TV broadcast by the President of the ConCon--the man who was the leader of the opposition against initiative and referendum. He asked him to come to a well-known Waikiki restaurant the next morning for breakfast. At that time, the President conceded that the Televote had "backed us into a corner." Those in power had felt the heat of informed and deliberated public opinion facilitated by undergraduate students in an experiential learning course at the state university. The public had formed a deliberated

judgment that they wanted to be empowered and these students had delivered the message to the media who responded quickly and effectively.

No, the Televote didn't make the big difference. Hawaii still does not have initiative and referendum at the state level. Also, the day after the breakfast meeting with the President of ConCon, the lead professor was notified by the Academic Vice President of the University of Hawaii that he could not continue to provide extra funding for the project (for computers, long-distance telephone calls, etc.) "The people downtown" (as he put it) had gotten to him, but he said he still would give the Televote project his "moral support."

The New Zealand Televote offered another version of the same scenario. It was sponsored by a quasi-governmental organization known as the NZ Commission for the Future. Funded by Parliament, it conducted studies and projects that helped New Zealanders think about alternatives for the future of their nation. One of its major projects was a 100 page report that presented 4 alternative futures for New Zealand. It received a lot of media publicity and ired the Prime Minister.

The NZ Televote project capsulized these 4 scenarios into Televote form. Over 1000 New Zealanders, recruited through the 3-university Televote Network, participated. Another 5000 New Zealanders participated directly by filling out Televote brochures printed in our 12-newspaper national network. The New Zealand Radio network ran a series of talk shows on the Televote. Indeed, the NZ Commission for the Future's Report had become very accessible and discussable and the Televote process permitted the NZ public to have an informed and deliberated vote on it as well.

So what was the impact of the NZ Televote, aside from some consciousness raising and increased debate over the 4 scenarios for the future of New Zealand? Perhaps the most immediate consequence was that it was the last straw for the Prime Minister. He had become a foe of the Commission for the Future, and this project bothered him a great deal because the scenario of his party had received very low support from the Televoters. That was not the future they wanted for New Zealand. Shortly afterwards, the Parliament voted the Commission out of existence.

A few years later, the man who ran the Auckland University center for the NZ Televote came to the East-West Center in Hawaii for a conference. We met to review the Televote process and its consequences. At that time, he was the Dean of the School of Commerce at Auckland University and was the research director of the leading national public opinion survey company in New Zealand. I was feeling a bit sorry about the role Televote played in the demise of the Commission, but he told me that it would have met with the same fate even without Televote.

On the other hand, it was his view that NZ Televote actually had been the harbinger of dreadful news to the Prime Minister and his party and that subsequent elections in New Zealand bore that out. Indeed, from his vantage point, he was surprised as to how accurately the Televote had predicted a general shift in public opinion towards a completely different set of preferences as to how the country should move into the future. He also believed that the widespread publicity about this strong sentiment had encouraged those who held this view to push it in these subsequent elections.

However, the results on politics, on government and on government policy were not always so indirect and, from the viewpoint of some, negative. In two Televotes, the results were clearly direct and positive.

In the 1982 Los Angeles Televote, the sponsor was the Southern California Association of Governments (SCAG). They were facing a number of serious problems in the near future, not the least of which was how to deal with the potential horrors of handling the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles. There were many ideas floating around about how to handle security, traffic, pollution, et al. SCAG wanted some public discussion and input on a range of alternatives, so they decided to try the Televote process.

The LA Televote utilized much the same formula as the NZ Televote, but had the active participation of a major Los Angeles television station as well. The process was widely publicized and the results were a clear indication as to how the member governments in SCAG should proceed. Most of the alternatives strongly supported by the Televoters were adopted and the Los Angeles Olympics were a big success. Televote played a small role in that.

It played a far bigger role in an experiment backed and funded by the State of Hawaii Department of Health (DOH) in 1985. DOH was considering a proposal to change the way it did business in a health clinic in a heavily Hawaiian community on Oahu called Waimanalo. The people at DOH had made a unilateral decision to make some drastic changes in another of their Hawaiian community programs a year or so earlier and had run into a storm of protest and a swarm of political repercussions. They felt that using the Televote process in a small community might just help them avoid the same difficulties. The idea was to use the Televote to involve the people of Waimanalo in the decision-making process.

One of the biggest problems facing the Waimanalo Televote was that this process had never been used on a universe that had such demographic characteristics as low income, low educational level, high unemployment, and the like. Would such a community participate in a project that relied so much on a lot of reading material? Also, being sponsored by a government agency in such a community was not necessarily a plus.

What happened was nothing short of amazing. Our recruitment rate was higher than in any previous Televote. The percentage of those recruited who completed the Televote was higher than in any prior Televote. Because we recruited about 400 households in a community of about 2500 households, our interviewers were told about a good deal of networking going on. Quite serendipitously, the Televote had become an instrument of increased face-to-face community deliberation. Finally, the results provided a clear direction for the DOH and ultimately they followed the lead of the community and made changes that were indicated by the Televote without much negative feedback.

Conclusions

We believe that the Televote experiments conclusively demonstrate that it is a method of public opinion polling that delivers what it promises: informed, deliberated public opinion. The value to any form of democracy of such a public judgment by random samples of its citizenry should be crystal clear.

What is more, by basing the Televote method of polling in a university curriculum, as experiential learning, this method is relatively inexpensive to the society, is of inestimable

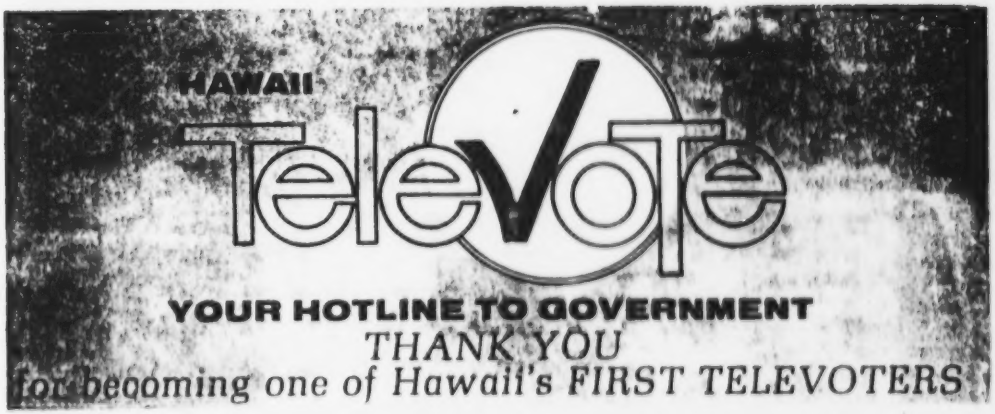
educational value to students and professors, and provides the higher education system with an important supportive role in community, city, state and national affairs.

After the references, the Appendix will provide a number of the Televotes so that the reader can see the impressive work of the students who were so essential to the success of the Televote experiments.

References

Campbell, Vincent — *The Televote System for Civic Communication.* Palo Alto, CA: American Institute for Research, 1975.

McDonald, Donald — *Opinion Polls.* Santa Barbara, CA: Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1962.



Please read the contents of this TELEVOTE. Take a day or two to think about it and talk about it with your friends. Then fill out the ballot on the back page and call us back within 3 days after receiving this TELEVOTE. You can reach us at the following *Hotline* Numbers:

Our office at the University of Hawaii: 948-6877; 948-6878; 948-6879; 948-6880

Monday through Friday—8:30 A.M. until 8:30 P.M.
Saturday: 9 A.M.-5 P.M. Sunday: 10 A.M. to 2 P.M.

Remember: Your answers will be *completely confidential* and used for statistical purposes only. Hawaii needs your opinions.

This TELEVOTE wants your opinions on:

"INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM"

What is Initiative? This is a method by which private citizens propose laws and amendments to the State Constitution and put them on the ballot for approval or rejection by the voters.

What is Referendum? This is a method by which voters approve or disapprove at the ballot box a law or constitutional amendment passed by the State Legislature.

Your Televoter-ID Number is HT1-_____

INFORMATION ON INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM:

Initiative is found in 26 states. Twenty-one of them allow a certain number of citizens to sign a petition proposing a new law for the state. Their recommendation for law then goes on the ballot for all voters to vote on. And, if the majority says "yes"—it becomes law. The State Legislature has nothing to do with it. This is called **DIRECT INITIATIVE.** (The recent Proposition 13 in California was of this kind.)

But five states (including Massachusetts) do it slightly differently: once a certain number of citizens sign a petition that proposes a new law, it must *first* go to the State Legislature for consideration. The State Legislature discusses it, holds hearings, etc. The State Legislature can then pass it, or a very similar one and it becomes law. Or it can refuse to pass it, and then the proposed Initiative goes on the ballot **as is** for the voters to decide on. This is called **INDIRECT INITIATIVE.**

Most states that have Initiative also have

REFERENDUM

where the State Legislature itself can put a measure on the ballot for the public to appprove or disapprove at an election.

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DID YOU KNOW?

Currently, three counties in Hawaii (The Big Island, Maui, Kauai) all have Initiative at the county level. They are occasionally used. For example, this year (1978) enough citizens of Kauai signed a petition to limit all future construction on Kauai to no more than four stories tall. Being of the "indirect" type, the petition then went to the Kauai County Council, which rejected it. So, this November the citizens of Kauai can vote for or against this proposal.

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM:

FOR	AGAINST
...causes more people to vote in elections	...keeps people away from polls because they feel confused about measures they know little about
...stimulates interest in politics and elections	...the news media cannot be depended upon to provide good and fair coverage of the issues
...gives the people their rightful voice in government	...the side spending more money will probably win
...causes legislatures to be more knowledgeable about what the people want and more responsive to their wishes	...unnecessary because we already have a legislature that is supposed to pass laws. Thus it is a waste of public money.
...gives citizens a greater sense of their responsibility in government	...does not allow the clarification of issues and compromise provided by discussion in the legislature
...lessens the chance that important public issues will get buried in legislative committees or deadlocked in legislative debate	

NOW...WE WOULD LIKE YOUR OPINION!

QUESTION I: Are you in favor or opposed to adopting Referendum in the State of Hawaii?

86% ☐ **In favor of Referendum**
14% ☐ **Opposed to Referendum**

QUESTION II: After what you have read, are you in favor or opposed to adopting Initiative in Hawaii at the State level?

86% ☐ **In favor of Initiative**
14% ☐ **Opposed to Initiative**

As we mentioned, there are two kinds of Initiative, **Direct** and **Indirect**. The Direct goes immediately before the voters and the Indirect must make a stop at the State Legislature for their consideration.

QUESTION III: Which would you like to see adopted in the State of Hawaii, Direct Initiative or Indirect Initiative? (Check one box below)

46% ☐ **In favor of Direct Initiative**
33% ☐ **In favor of Indirect Initiative**
22% ☐ **In favor of both Direct and Indirect Initiative**

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SOME MORE FACTS ABOUT INITIATIVES OF ALL KINDS

If you are in favor of some kind of Initiative for Hawaii, please voice your opinion on how it should work here.

. . . to put a measure up to a vote of the citizens, states usually require signatures from between 5% and 15% of the people who voted in the last election. The lower the required percentage, the easier it is to get an Initiative put before the voters. The higher, the more difficult it is.

. . . in some states there are no geographical requirements as to where signatures must come from. This has good and bad aspects: (1) requiring that a certain percentage of signatures come from counties (like Maui, Kauai, etc.) insures that the proposal has statewide support; (2) on the other hand, widespread county requirements may prevent proposals of vital concern to cities (like Honolulu) from qualifying because of lack of interest in rural areas.

NOW, JUST TWO MORE QUESTIONS ABOUT HOW THE INITIATIVE SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT: (Check apporpriate boxes below):

QUESTION IV:

26% ☐ 9 **Initiative should be made easy, therefore it should only take a small number of citizens' names on the petition.**

74% ☐ 9 **Initiative should not be made too easy, therefore it should take a large number of citizens' names on the petition.**

QUESTION V:

26% ☐ 10 **It is alright if all names on petition for Initiative come from Oahu.**

74% ☐ 11 **A certain percentage of citizens' names on petitions should come from the Outer Islands in addition to Oahu.**

QUESTION VI:

A FEW BACKGROUND QUESTIONS. YOUR ANSWERS WILL BE COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL AND ARE FOR STATISTICAL PURPOSES ONLY. (N=400)

ARE YOU A REPUBLICAN, A DEMOCRAT, AN INDEPENDENT, OR OTHER? (Please check one box)

REPUBLICAN ☐ (12) 16%
DEMOCRAT ☐ (13) 59%
INDEPENDENT ☐ (14) 20%
OTHER ☐ (15) 5%

WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES INCLUDES YOUR AGE? (Please check one box)

UNDER 25 ☐ (16) 10%
25 TO 34 ☐ (17) 28%
35 TO 44 ☐ (18) 17%
45 TO 54 ☐ (19) 20%
55 TO 64 ☐ (20) 17%
65 OR MORE ☐ (21) 8%

WHAT IS THE LAST YEAR OR HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION YOU COMPLETED? (Please check one box)

LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL ☐ (22) 10%
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE ☐ (23) 21%
BUSINESS OR TRADE SCHOOL ☐ (24) 12%
SOME COLLEGE ☐ (25) 21%
COLLEGE GRADUATE ☐ (26) 35%
POST-GRADUATE STUDIES/DEGREE ☐ (27)

AND WHAT IS YOUR ETHNIC BACKGROUND? (Please check one box)

JAPANESE ☐ (28) 30%
CAUCASIAN ☐ (29) 35%
CHINESE ☐ (30) 10%
FILIPINO ☐ (31)
HAWAIIAN/PART HAWAIIAN ☐ (32) 11%
PORTUGUESE ☐ (33)
KOREAN ☐ (34)
OTHER ☐ (35) 15%

ARE YOU . . . (Check one box)

MALE ☐ (36) 51%
FEMALE ☐ (37) 49%

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THERE ARE THREE BASIC WAYS TO PICK JUDGES:

(1) *Appointment* (2) *Election* (3) *Merit Selection*

APPOINTMENT (Hawaii's Present System)

Here is how it works: The governor can select anyone to be a judge of the Supreme or Circuit Courts who has been licensed to practice law in Hawaii for at least 10 years. His choice, however, must be approved by the State Senate.

For the lower courts, the Chief Justice appoints the judges without approval by anyone. Some type of appointment method is currently used in 11 states.

ELECTION

This is the most frequently used system for selecting judges in the United States. However, the number of states using this method has decreased from 31 in 1968 to 24 states in 1978.

Some of these states have elections where candidates for judge cannot run as a member of a political party but must run for office on their own.

MERIT SELECTION (The Missouri Plan)

This method is being used more frequently. In 1968, only 7 states used it. Today, some 15 states have adopted it. It works something like this:

(a) A committee of citizens & lawyers chooses from a long list of candidates for judge and sends a very short list of the top candidates to the governor—who then picks *his* top choice.

(b) The committee itself might have 1/3 of its members picked by the Governor; 1/3 by the Legislature; and 1/3 by lawyers licensed to practice law. Also, many states require that approximately *half* the members of such a committee be *non-lawyers*.

(c) In some Merit systems, the new judge serves an initial term in office. Then his name goes on the ballot so the voters can decide if he should be kept on as judge or not.

Some observations about the different methods of picking judges

... in February 1977, President Carter created a committee to fill vacancies in (U.S.) federal courts.

... though each method of selecting judges has its advantages and disadvantages, there is no one method that is guaranteed to produce "better" judges. Studies indicate that there is little difference in the ability of judges chosen by any of the three major methods.

... it has not been *proven* that the various methods choose judges that differ in their experience or are more representative of the people.

Arguments FOR and AGAINST the three methods

APPOINTMENT:

FOR	AGAINST
The governor has the information and the ability to make intelligent choices for judge.	There is too much politics in the appointment system. For example, around 90% of the federal judges come from the same party as the President who appointed them.
The governor is responsible for the quality of judges. Bad appointments can be politically damaging, so it is important for the governor to make good choices.	An appointed judge may become a political puppet of the governor.

ELECTION:

FOR	AGAINST
The election system makes sure that the judges are directly responsible to, and representative of, the people.	The election method encourages judges to become politicians. The judge's main interest is to stay in office—which may affect his fairness.
The election of judges makes sure that the court system is an independent branch of government, separate from the governor and the Legislature.	Poorly qualified persons could run for office and win.

MERIT SELECTION

FOR	AGAINST
The Citizens & Lawyers Committee would take the politics out of selecting a judge and seek persons who are excellent lawyers.	Citizens & Lawyers Committees emphasize legal-technical ability which is not as important as some other qualities—like social consciousness.
Merit selection with a later election gives the people a chance to rate the judge's performance. If a judge's record is poor, the people can remove him. If it is good, they can keep him in office.	Politics will still enter the selection of judges by way of a "preferred" list of those chosen. In Missouri, which uses Merit Selection, about 70% of the judges selected are still from the same party as the governor who chose them.

QUESTION A:

Now, on the basis of what you have just read (and what else you may know or believe), which method do you think is best for Hawaii?

16% ☐ 1 Appointment (Hawaii's present system).

17% ☐ 2 Election of judges (who must run on their own and not as a member of a political party)

17% ☐ 3 Merit Selection with *no* later election to keep or get rid of the judge.

50% ☐ 4 Merit Selection *with* a later election to keep or get rid of the judge.

FOR THOSE OF YOU WHO CHOSE EITHER METHOD OF MERIT SELECTION (Box 3 or 4) WE WOULD LIKE YOUR OPINION IN MORE DETAIL – AFTER YOU CONSIDER A FEW MORE BRIEF FACTS AND ARGUMENTS.

TWO OTHER IDEAS ABOUT THE SELECTION OF JUDGES

It has been said that if we are serious about selecting judges on merit and keeping politics to a minimum, we need to staff the Committee of Citizens and Lawyers with some experts from the *Mainland*. These would be widely-respected Federal judges, deans of top mainland law schools—people who are unaffected by local politics. The argument against this is that Mainland experts would be ignorant of Hawaii's customs and would not know what is important to the people of Hawaii.

QUESTION B:

42% ☐ 5 I am in favor of including Mainland experts on the Committee of Citizens and Lawyers

58% ☐ 6 I am opposed to including Mainland experts on the Committee of Citizens and Lawyers

Another idea is that instead of letting the Governor and Legislature pick the non-lawyer members of the Selection Committee, the public should *elect* them. This would make part of this committee directly responsible to the public. The argument against this is that since there would be no issues involved in such an election, and almost no campaigning, most voters would be unable to make good choices.

QUESTION C:

55% ☐ 7 I favor election of the non-lawyer members of the Committee of Citizens and Lawyers

45% ☐ 8 I oppose election of the non-lawyer members of the Committee of Citizens and Lawyers

QUESTION D: (N=401) DEMOGRAPHICS

A FEW BACKGROUND QUESTIONS. YOUR ANSWERS WILL BE COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL AND ARE FOR STATISTICAL PURPOSES ONLY. (Please check one box)

ARE YOU A REPUBLICAN, A DEMOCRAT, AN INDEPENDENT, OR OTHER?

18% ☐ 9 Republican
58% ☐ 10 Democrat
21% ☐ 11 Independent
3% ☐ 12 Other

WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES INCLUDES YOUR AGE?

10% ☐ 13 Under 25
26% ☐ 14 25 to 34
17% ☐ 15 35 to 44
21% ☐ 16 45 to 54
16% ☐ 17 55 to 64
9% ☐ 18 65 or more

WHAT IS THE LAST YEAR OR HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION YOU COMPLETED?

6% ☐ 19 Less than High School
18% ☐ 20 High School Graduate
12% ☐ 21 Business or Trade School
25% ☐ 22 Some college
39% ☐ 23 College Graduate
☐ 24 Post Graduate Studies/Masters or Doctors degree

AND WHAT IS YOUR ETHNIC BACKGROUND?

31% ☐ 25 Japanese
38% ☐ 26 Caucasian
4% ☐ 27 Chinese
☐ 28 Filipino
11% ☐ 29 Hawaiian/Part Hawaiian
☐ 30 Portuguese
☐ 31 Korean
☐ 32 Mixed
15% ☐ 33 Other

ARE YOU

59% ☐ 34 Male
41% ☐ 35 Female

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DIRECTIONS

Below are 8 boxes. Each represents a major area of public concern ("Crime," "Education," etc.) as measured by radio, newspaper, and university polls in 1978.

Inside each box is a list. This list includes a number of ways many people believe would best solve problems in that area.

Look at those areas of your concern. Next, read the list of possible ways to solve problems in those areas. Then check those you think are very important for the 1979 State Legislature to consider as laws to pass.

Check as many or as few items in each area that concerns you.

Note: If you have one or more *other* ways you think would be even better for the State Legislature to consider in 1979, please write them in on those lines labelled as "*Other*." Then read them to us on the phone when you call in Televote answers.

TRANSPORTATION

- 52% ☐ 1 Develop a general aviation airport for small airplanes on Oahu
- 33% ☐ 2 Establish or support a State inter-island ferry system
- 60% ☐ 3 Reach a decision about whether Hawaii should have Fixed Guideway-TH3-or expanded Bus system
- 25% ☐ 4 Limit the number of motor vehicles on Oahu
- 32% ☐ 5 Develop road system for bikes and mopeds
- 10% ☐ 6 Increase gasoline tax and use money to improve public transportation
- 53% ☐ 7 Reduce rush hour traffic (by encouraging more carpooling and changing work hours of government, etc.)

GOVERNMENT

- 38% ☐ 8 Give counties more power to make their own planning and land use decisions ("home rule")
- 60% ☐ 9 Require voter approval of all pay raises for legislators
- 33% ☐ 10 Require a cut in the present number of state government employees
- 21% ☐ 11 Give more power to the neighborhood boards
- 47% ☐ 12 Provide initiative, referendum, and recall at the state level
- 49% ☐ 13 Make the State Attorney-General an elected official
- 68% ☐ 14 Put a limit on political campaign spending

GROWTH

- 68% ☐ 15 Make sponsors of foreign immigrants responsible for supporting them for 5 years after they come to Hawaii
- 12% ☐ 16 Increase money already authorized for the improvement and beautification of Waikiki
- 68% ☐ 17 Establish new and clearer standards for the Land Use Commission to make sure that existing agricultural lands and open spaces are preserved
- 15% ☐ 18 Impose special taxes on new residents
- 62% ☐ 19 Limit welfare payments to newly arrived persons to how much they received on welfare in their last place of residence
- 37% ☐ 20 Limit the growth of hotels and mass tourism
- 30% ☐ 21 Establish an Exit and Entry State Census Bureau to better understand who is coming to and leaving Hawaii and for what reasons

CRIME

- 72% ☐ 22 Have mandatory jail sentences for certain crimes
- 53% ☐ 23 Continue the Crime Commission and expand its powers to investigate organized crime
- 73% ☐ 24 Prohibit parole for career or habitual criminals
- 56% ☐ 25 Have the death penalty for certain crimes
- 31% ☐ 26 Repeal laws against marijuana
- 38% ☐ 27 Stop plea bargaining by prosecutors and defense lawyers
- 41% ☐ 28 Expand size of police department and increase police patrolling
- 15% ☐ 29 Repeal laws against cockfighting
- 23% ☐ 30 Provide better recreational and rehabilitation facilities for prisoners
- 47% ☐ 31 Establish more courts and hire more judges to speed up criminal justice system

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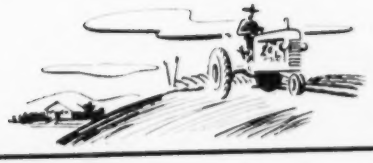


TAX AND MONEY

38% ☐ 32 Put limit on the percent of personal income any resident must pay in state taxes

57% ☐ 33 Pass a hotel room tax

36% ☐ 34 Give greater tax credits to residents who install solar heating or windmills in their homes or businesses

58% ☐ 35 Repeal the 4% tax on food and medicine

18% ☐ 36 Reduce or eliminate all state taxes on small farms

23% ☐ 37 Change the income tax laws

48% ☐ 38 Do not allow State government spending to go up unless or until the sum total of personal income of all state residents goes up

LAND USE

62% ☐ 39 Increase research and development to help diversified agriculture and aquaculture

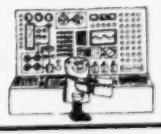
41% ☐ 40 Change zoning laws to slow down urban growth

29% ☐ 41 Have the state buy more land for recreational use

52% ☐ 42 To make Hawaii more self-sufficient, have tax incentives to encourage those who want to go into small farming

37% ☐ 43 Provide state guarantees of bank loans to lower income people who want to improve their land or homes

41% ☐ 44 Establish a State Land Bank (State purchases prime agricultural land threatened by development and rents to those who want to farm small tracts.)



EDUCATION

78% ☐ 45 Require competency tests in reading and writing for high school graduation

27% ☐ 46 Give local communities and parents more say in the high school curriculum

9% ☐ 47 Cut the University of Hawaii budget

69% ☐ 48 Have more vocational training in high school system

32% ☐ 49 Increase police protection in the high schools

27% ☐ 50 Permit school-by-school budgeting

37% ☐ 51 Encourage and develop the teaching of Hawaiian language and culture throughout the school system

57% ☐ 52 Increase special education programs (for gifted and handicapped children)

23% ☐ 53 Build new school facilities ("capital improvements")

MISCELLANEOUS

62% ☐ 54 Put ceiling on all health and hospital costs

49% ☐ 55 Repeal laws which make people retire at a certain age

25% ☐ 56 Develop nuclear energy for Hawaii

48% ☐ 57 Require deposits on all bottled beverages to reduce litter

21% ☐ 58 Increase state funding of low and moderate-income public housing

50% ☐ 59 Find more and better ways to encourage new industry to come to Hawaii

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Now . . . for Your Ideas

Other

☐ 60 _____ ☐ 63 _____

☐ 61 _____ ☐ 64 _____

☐ 62 _____ ☐ 65 _____

ONE FINAL DIRECTION

Please go back and look over those items you have already checked as being *very* important. Now we want to know which of them are the *most* important in your mind. Select up to 5 of them as being the *most* important for the 1979 State Legislature to consider passing as laws. Then put an *extra* checkmark in those boxes *only*.

Sample:

Suppose one of your areas of concern was Education and you believe it is very important for the 1979 State Legislature to consider: (a) the competency tests; (b) more police patrolling in schools; and (c) expanded vocational training. You would have checkmarks by those choices. If you think competency tests are the most important thing the State Legislature can do about education or one of the 4 or 5 most important things it could do in 1979, then your TELEVOTE form would look like this:

EDUCATION

☑ 45 Require competency tests in reading and writing for high school graduation

☐ 46 Give local communities and parents more say in the high school curriculum

☐ 47 Cut the University of Hawaii budget

☑ 48 Have more vocational training in high school system

☑ 49 Increase police protection in the high schools

MAHALO FOR YOUR KOKUA

DEMOGRAPHICS

(N=395)

A FEW BACKGROUND QUESTIONS. YOUR ANSWERS WILL BE COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL AND ARE FOR STATISTICAL PURPOSES ONLY.

A. ARE YOU A REPUBLICAN, A DEMOCRAT, AN INDEPENDENT, OR OTHER?

15.9% ☐ 1 Republican
59.4% ☐ 2 Democrat
18.2% ☐ 3 Independent
☐ 4 Other

B. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES INCLUDES YOUR AGE?

☐ 1 Under 25
40.0% ☐ 2 25 to 34
19.4% ☐ 3 35 to 44
33.5% ☐ 4 45 to 54
☐ 5 55 to 64
6.1% ☐ 6 65 or more

C. WHAT IS THE LAST YEAR OR HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION YOU COMPLETED?

5.6% ☐ 1 Less than High School
21.0% ☐ 2 High School Graduate
9.0% ☐ 3 Business or Trade School
☐ 4 Some college 22.8%
☐ 5 College Graduate 22.0%
☐ 6 Post-Graduate Studies/Masters or Doctors degree 18.7%

D. AND WHAT IS YOUR ETHNIC BACKGROUND?

31.3% ☐ 1 Japanese
34.6% ☐ 2 Caucasian
6.1% ☐ 3 Chinese
3.6% ☐ 4 Filipino
7.4% ☐ 5 Hawaiian/Part Hawaiian
☐ 6 Portuguese
☐ 7 Korean
8.9% ☐ 8 Mixed
☐ 9 Other

E. ARE YOU

52.5% ☐ 1 Male
46.6% ☐ 2 Female

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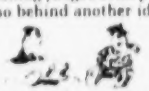
BACKGROUND:

In a recent poll, 72% of a sample of Hawaii's population favored the idea of making judges send persons convicted of certain crimes to prison—no matter what! This "get tough" attitude was also behind another idea: no parole for career or habitual criminals—favored by 73% of the same group.



However, DID YOU KNOW?

Mandatory minimum sentencing (the state legislature telling judges that they must send persons to prison once they are convicted of certain crimes) is not new in Hawaii. According to the present criminal code, a judge must give a prison sentence to anyone convicted of:

(1) using a gun in a crime for the second time;

(2) committing any one of a number of other serious crimes for the second time (including: murder, rape, robbery, burglary, pushing hard drugs, etc.);

(3) certain first-time murders, like killing:
- (a) a policeman in the performance of his duties;
- (b) a person by using a hired killer;
- (c) a fellow prisoner.

In all other cases than those mentioned above, the judge can do a lot of other things.

For example, suppose John is convicted of beating someone to death in a fit of anger (manslaughter). The judge could (1) put John on probation, or (2) make him pay a fine; or (3) send him to jail (for under 1 year); or (4) send him to prison (for over 1 year), or (5) any combination of these.

If the judge decides to send John to prison, the judge does not set the specific length of time. It is the Hawaii Penal Code that sets the maximum time in prison. And it is the Hawaii Board of Parole that sets the minimum.

So, if the 1979 State Legislature were to add manslaughter to the above list of crimes requiring the judge to sentence a person to prison for some fixed minimum time, the judge would have to sentence John to prison—no matter what led John to beat that person to death. The maximum length of time John would spend there is already set by law. And the parole officers could not let John out early.

FOLLOWING ARE SOME FACTS ABOUT CRIME IN THE USA AND HAWAII AND SOME OF THE MAJOR PRO AND CON ARGUMENTS ABOUT CHANGING THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF SENTENCING IN HAWAII:

In the U.S.A.

From 1960 to 1977, reported crime in America went up approximately 150%. However, there seems to be some leveling off. And rape, assault, burglary and auto theft are reported to have begun to decline recently.* *(Footnote: Reports of crime are very unreliable and we don't know for sure what the trends in actual crime are.)*

* * *

The F.B.I. estimates that bank officials and employees steal 3 times as much money from banks as do bank robbers.

* * *

A number of big cities have Career Criminal Programs which single out habitual criminals for special attention when re-arrested. A recent study claimed these programs have an 80% conviction rate, averaging 15 years behind bars for each convict.

* * *

Studies indicate that the longer one remains in prison, the more likely he will commit a crime when he gets out.

* * *

California recently passed a law requiring prison sentences for anyone convicted of: using a gun, selling heroin, or causing great bodily harm to someone who is blind or aged.

* * *

Massachusetts recently passed a law requiring anyone convicted of carrying a gun without a permit to go to prison. The results: (1) assaults with a gun went down 25%, but the total number of assaults stayed the same (a different weapon was used); (2) the number of robberies with a gun stayed the same; (3) the number of licenses to carry a gun went up tenfold (1000%).

In Hawaii

According to the State's Statistical Analysis Center: from 1977 to 1978

- Murder went down 18%
- Aggravated assault went down 3%
- Rape went up 6%
- Robbery went up 36%

In 1977, Hawaii ranked third in the USA in crimes against property but was very low nationally in violent crimes.

* * *

A recent study in the *Honolulu Advertiser* stated:

- Putting violent criminals on probation does not keep them from committing crimes again. This holds particularly true for robbers.
- 20% of repeat offenders commit much more new crime than most other repeaters. In fact, 80% of new crimes committed by all repeaters is done by this small group.
- In 1973, 1,161 violent crimes were reported to the police. 396 arrests were made for violent crimes in that year. However, 167 (42%) of these arrests led to dismissed charges because the police and prosecutors felt their evidence was not good enough to get a conviction.

* * *

Hawaii has just begun a Career Criminal Program. Special Prosecutors will be assigned to all cases concerning career or habitual criminals and they will pay special attention to such cases. These Special Prosecutors will help speed these cases through the system and will push for harsher sentencing.

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SOME ARGUMENTS ABOUT WHETHER TO CHANGE HAWAII'S PRESENT SYSTEM OR NOT

I. The Criminal Justice System Can't Reduce Crime. Solutions Lie Elsewhere.

The real causes of crime lie in poverty, unemployment, a poor school system, and the belief that crime prevention is the job of experts. Crime will not stop growing until private citizens take an active, personal role in solving local social problems and resolving community conflicts.

II. The *Less* Mandatory Minimum Sentencing—The Better.

Judges should be allowed to take special facts into account. Justice is never automatic.

Judges, prosecutors, and juries can easily get around mandatory minimum sentencing if they think it is unfair. They can charge or convict someone of a lesser crime—or just let him off completely.

Mandatory sentencing doesn't deter people from committing crimes, it only creates more prisoners. And building and maintaining prisons and prisoners is extremely expensive for taxpayers.

Bigger and Tougher Criminal Justice System is Needed to Reduce Crime.

Poverty and broken families don't produce crime, since most poor people and those from broken homes don't commit crimes (only a few do). Criminals must know with certainty that they will not have it easy in our criminal justice system. We need a bigger and tougher system.

The *More* Mandatory Minimum Sentencing—The Better.

Judges are too soft. They think about justice more from the criminal's point of view than from the victim's. They need strict guidance from the Legislature.

If people are certain they will go to prison when they commit a certain crime, they will be less likely to try it.

Judges have different ideas about sentencing which result in very unjust sentencing: different people get much different sentencing for committing the same crime.

HAWAII TELEVOTE QUESTIONNAIRE

NOW, ON THE BASIS OF THE BACKGROUND FACTS, ARGUMENTS (AND WHAT ELSE YOU MAY KNOW OR THINK), PLEASE TELL US YOUR OPINIONS.

QUESTION I: How do you feel about mandatory sentencing. Please check one box below:

9% ☐ I think we should have no mandatory minimum sentencing (repeal laws already on the books).

14% ☐ I think we have enough mandatory minimum sentencing already (keep present laws and add no more).

75% ☐ I think we need more mandatory minimum sentencing laws (add it for other crimes and other criminals).

3% ☐ Undecided

QUESTION II: There is a Hawaii law on the books (Sec. 706-620) that informs judges of a general legislative policy against sending persons convicted of a crime to prison. Judges are told by this law to consider imprisonment as a last resort. Please give your opinion about this law by checking one box below:

30% ☐ I think this is a good law and should be kept.

57% ☐ I think this is a bad law and should be repealed.

12% ☐ Undecided

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QUESTION III: Some people think parole is good because it allows officials to reward prisoners who see the error of their ways—and motivates them to reform and to become better citizens. Others think that parole officers are often fooled and that is why so many who are paroled end up back in jail. Almost all states maintain a state parole system, but California recently all but did away with its parole system, allowing for no early out. Please give your opinion on parole by checking one box below.

9% ☐ I favor keeping Hawaii's present system that allows for parole and early release (to be determined by The Board of Parole).

62% ☐ I favor some change, like no parole for career or habitual criminals.

26% ☐ I favor major change: no parole for anyone convicted of committing any major crime.

2% ☐ Undecided

QUESTION IV: Here are some other ways that many other people believe would help lessen crime in Hawaii. Which, if any, do you favor? Check as many boxes as you like.

59% ☐ Death penalty for certain crimes

38% ☐ Provide public service jobs to all unemployed (but particularly young people)

48% ☐ Continue development of statewide Career Criminal Program

47% ☐ Develop massive educational program showing individual citizens how they can help prevent crime

33% ☐ Increase number of judges to hear criminal cases

67% ☐ Increase power of Crime Commission to fight white collar crime, political corruption, and organized crime

☐ (Other) _____

_____

_____

_____

FOR THOSE OF YOU IN FAVOR OF MORE MANDATORY MINIMUM SENTENCING (CHECKED BOX 3), WE WOULD LIKE YOUR OPINION ON THE FOLLOWING ITEMS:

Check the box (or boxes) next to the crime(s) for which you'd want to see our State Legislature make judges sentence first-time offenders to at least 1 year in prison, no matter what the circumstances of the case. A star (★) next to the crime means that that Hawaii Penal Code already requires a prison sentence for anyone convicted of any of these crimes a second time.

☐ Innocent victim crippled by bad beating ★

☐ Showing gun while robbing someone ★

☐ Rape ★

☐ Burglarizing and vandalizing a private home ★

☐ Burning down building to collect insurance

☐ Elected official taking bribe

☐ Premeditated murder ★

☐ Fraud by corporate executive where many people lose money.

☐ Selling hard drugs to anyone under 18 ★

☐ Bombing a public building

☐ Other _____

_____

_____

DEMOGRAPHICS (N=419)

A FEW BACKGROUND QUESTIONS. YOUR ANSWERS WILL BE COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL AND ARE FOR STATISTICAL PURPOSES ONLY.

A. Which of the following categories includes your age?

10% ☐ Under 25
27% ☐ 25 to 34
20% ☐ 35 to 44
☐ 45 to 54 31%
☐ 55 to 64
☐ 65 or more 11%

B. Level of education

8.4% ☐ Less than High School
19.6% ☐ High School Graduate
13.3% ☐ Business or Trade School
☐ Some college 21.9%
☐ College Graduate 23.2%
☐ Post Graduate Studies: Masters or Doctors degree 13.6%

C. Ethnic background

27% ☐ Japanese
35% ☐ Caucasian
5% ☐ Chinese
5% ☐ Filipino
13% ☐ Hawaiian/Part Hawaiian
☐ Portuguese
☐ Korean
☐ Mixed 15%
☐ Other

D. Income Level

9% ☐ Less than $5,000
15% ☐ $5,000-$9,999
17% ☐ $10,000-$14,999
22% ☐ $15,000-$19,999
13% ☐ $20,000-$24,999
10% ☐ $25,000-$29,999
11% ☐ $30,000 and over
3% ☐ Not Sure

E. Party (Republ. Dem.)

17% ☐ Republican
58% ☐ Democrat
20% ☐ Independent
6% ☐ Other

F. Sex

☐ Male 53%
☐ Female 47%

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SOME FACTS

STATES WITH MANDATORY COMPETENCY TESTING PROGRAMS

IN THE USA

Many mainland districts requiring competency tests for graduation found thousands of seniors failing. An example is Florida, which established statewide competency tests for students in the 3rd, 5th, 8th, and 11th grades in October, 1977. 37% of the students in the 11th grade failed. Among blacks, 75% failed.

On the other hand, Oregon, the first state to use the basic competency test approach in its educational system (1972), has had no massive failures among its high school students. Instead of a statewide set of standards, Oregon allows each school district to set up and measure its own minimum standards for how well students "Read, write, speak, listen, analyze, and compute."

IN HAWAII

Hawaii's Department of Education (DOE) has developed a statewide minimum competency test that must be passed by high school students graduating in 1983. In the meantime, this test is being given as a model of what students are expected to learn before they can graduate from high school. During the Fall of 1979, this test was given to all public high school sophomores (grade 10). 65% passed; 35% failed.

ARGUMENTS FOR COMPETENCY TESTS

Points out those who need remedial help as well as those advanced students who could benefit from other educational activities.

* * * *

Determines what basic skills the students should learn so that teachers can better determine class goals.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST COMPETENCY TESTS

Many students fail because they "tense up" on exams, not because they lack the basic skills.

* * * *

Competency tests rely too much on the multiple-choice method of exams. This penalizes students who are more imaginative and individualistic.

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SO, HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT COMPETENCY TESTING?

Question I: (Check one box)

4.7% ☐ 1 I am opposed to competency tests entirely. (If you check this box, skip questions II and III and go to question IV.)

32.7% ☐ 2 I favor competency tests only as a guide to find the students' weak spots.

33.2% ☐ 3 I favor requiring students to pass competency tests before they can graduate from high school.

31.2% ☐ 4 I favor competency tests in grades 3, 5, 8, and 11, with students staying in each grade until they pass at that level.

4.0% ☐ 5 Undecided

Question II: (Check one box)

54.0% ☐ 6 I favor a uniform state-developed test.

30.4% ☐ 7 I favor a test developed by each local school district (for example, Honolulu, Leeward, Maui, etc.), but subject to DOE approval.

6.7% ☐ 8 I favor a test developed by each local school district (for example, Honolulu, Leeward, Maui, etc.), not subject to state DOE approval.

4.0% ☐ 9 Undecided

TYPES OF COMPETENCY TESTS

Opinion varies about what "skills" should be tested.

- Most competency tests measure skills in elementary reading and arithmetic. Skills in such areas as science, history, music, and art are seldom tested.
- The Stanford Achievement Test (SAT) rates the students' performance in reading, math, and mechanics of writing. In the 1977 SAT given to local 10th graders throughout the USA, Hawaii students ranked below average in reading and writing—and about average in math.
- The Hawaii DOE "minimum competency test" scheduled to take effect in 1983 is designed to measure the skills high school graduates should have to function in society. It tests for such skills as simple math; the ability to know the difference between fact and opinion; knowledge of American and local government; and ability to fill out commonly used forms, like personal checks and job applications.

Question III: (Please check [✓] those areas you feel should be covered in any required competency testing. If there is any single item you believe should be given extra emphasis over all others, please place a double check in that box [✓✓].)

37.8% ☐ 10 Health and Nutrition Skills

41.8% ☐ 11 Citizenship Skills

15.8% ☐ 12 Arts and Handicrafts

24.0% ☐ 13 Scientific Skills

67.1% ☐ 14 Everyday Skills (read signs, fill out forms)

7.4% ☐ 15 Other _____

☐ 16 The Three Rs (reading, writing & arithmetic)

90.1%

NOW WE'D LIKE YOUR OPINION ON 3 PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO IMPROVE STUDENT PERFORMANCE. EACH OF THEM IS ACTUALLY IN USE, RIGHT NOW, IN THE USA.

Plan A

An inner-city school (once ranked near the bottom out of 26 local high schools in reading) improved its class attendance, its students' reading skills, and its college enrollments after starting the following program:

1. forced teachers to take courses on how to teach reading.
2. students had to read television scripts, listen to tapes, and act out scripts.
3. had teachers develop individual summer-study program for students and work with parents so they could help their children learn.

Plan B

Two schools in a medium-sized city have been experimenting with a program called "Project Follow Through." It aims to get parents involved in helping their children learn basic skills by:

1. putting them on school "advisory committees."
2. getting them to attend meetings for "self-improvement."
3. training them as "instructors at home."

Plan C

17 states have laws that require teachers to take exams to test their skill at teaching the basics—before they are hired. In one large city, where there are far more teaching applicants than teaching jobs, the Wessman Personnel Classification Test is given. This tests teachers skills with the use of words and numbers and a certain minimum score must be made before a teacher will be hired to teach any course.

Question IV: Which of these three programs do you like best for Hawaii? (Please check one box.)

☐ 17 Plan A 38.4%

☐ 18 Plan B 16.1%

☐ 19 Plan C 42.6%

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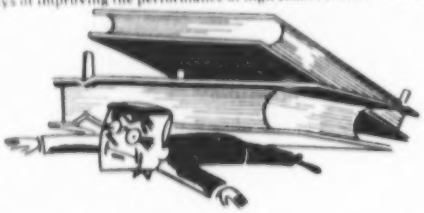
Question V:

A. How do you rate Plan A as a program for Hawaii?
☐ 20 excellent ☐ 21 good ☐ 22 fair ☐ 23 poor ☐ 24 undecided

B. How do you rate Plan B as a program for Hawaii?
☐ 25 excellent ☐ 26 good ☐ 27 fair ☐ 28 poor ☐ 29 undecided

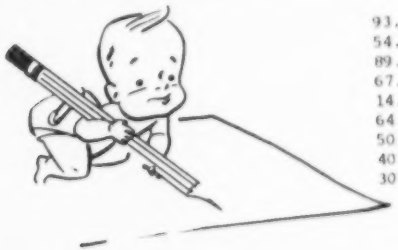
C. How do you rate Plan C as a program for Hawaii?
☐ 30 excellent ☐ 31 good ☐ 32 fair ☐ 33 poor ☐ 34 undecided

Question VI: Following are some other methods suggested as ways of improving the performance of high school students. Check as many as you like.



42.6% ☐ 35 Provide extra funding for more remedial training
35.1% ☐ 36 Hold parents legally responsible for students who cut school regularly (fine, imprisonment)
45.5% ☐ 37 Require annual evaluations of teachers by students, parents and fellow teachers
80.2% ☐ 38 Develop work-study programs for students to help them relate school subjects to real-life activities
5.0% ☐ 39 Pay parents for learning how to teach fundamentals to children
83.4% ☐ 40 Require teachers to take periodic courses to add fresh ideas and techniques to their teaching

Question VII: Who do you feel should be responsible for the education of our children? (Check all those which apply; double check the one you feel is most responsible for education.)



93.9% ☐ 41 Parents
54.2% ☐ 42 The children
89.9% ☐ 43 The teachers
67.8% ☐ 44 The school
14.9% ☐ 45 The church
64.6% ☐ 46 The State Department of Education
50.8% ☐ 47 The Board of Education
40.6% ☐ 48 The State government
30.7% ☐ 49 The Federal government
☐ 50 Specify others _____
☐ 51 I am undecided right now

DEMOGRAPHICS

(N=405)

A FEW BACKGROUND QUESTIONS. YOUR ANSWERS WILL BE COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL AND ARE FOR STATISTICAL PURPOSES ONLY.

A. Which of the following categories includes your age?

35.3% ☐ 1 Under 25
21.8% ☐ 2 25 to 34
☐ 3 35 to 44
☐ 4 45 to 54 34.7%
☐ 5 55 to 64
☐ 6 65 or more 6.7%

B. Level of education:

5.2% ☐ Less than High School
19.6% ☐ High School Graduate
11.1% ☐ Business or Trade School
☐ 4 Some college 23.5%
☐ 5 College Graduate 20.8%
☐ 6 Post-Graduate Studies, Masters or Doctors degree 18.1%

C. Ethnic background:

29.2% ☐ Japanese
38.4% ☐ Caucasian
6.9% ☐ Chinese
6.2% ☐ Filipino
8.7% ☐ Hawaiian-Part Hawaiian
☐ 6 Mixed 6.7%
☐ 7 Other 2.5%

D. Income Level:

6.8% ☐ Less than $5,000
13.8% ☐ $5,000-$9,999
20.8% ☐ $10,000-$14,999
16.6% ☐ $15,000-$19,999
☐ 5 $20,000-$24,999 16.4%
☐ 6 $25,000-$29,999 8.6%
☐ 7 $30,000 and over 13.8%
☐ 8 Not Sure 3.4%

E. Sex:

☐ 1 Male 44.3%
☐ 2 Female 54.0%

F. Do you have any children currently in Grades K through 12?

☐ 1 Yes
☐ 2 No

G. If yes, do they attend public or private school?

☐ 1 Public
☐ 2 Private
☐ 3 Both

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...in case you were wondering, here is SOME BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The Price of Gasoline (Regular)*

1973	45¢ per gal
1975	69¢ per gal
1978	77¢ per gal
1979	$1.14 per gal
1980	$1.30 per gal

*Hawaii State Energy Office

Number of Cars on Oahu*

1970	285,259
1975	297,435
1980	332,119

*City and County of Honolulu, Motor Vehicle Agency

Parking Meter Rates (Downtown Honolulu)*

1969	10¢ 1hr, 5¢ ½hr, 1¢ 15 mins
1975	20¢ 1hr, 10¢ ½hr, 5¢ 15 mins
1979	40¢ 1hr, 20¢ ½hr

THE 3 MAIN IDEAS

Following are three brief paragraphs that describe three proposed transportation systems being considered by government officials as solutions to Hawaii's future transportation problems.

H-3/TH-3

H-3 is a freeway similar to the present H-1 and H-2 freeways. H-3 will be a 4-lane highway, from Halawa to Kaneohe, connecting Windward and Leeward Oahu. TH-3 would follow the same route but it would consist of 2 more lanes, for carpools and buses. TH-3, then, is a 6-lane highway. Either H-3 or TH-3 would be a third highway and tunnel through the Koolaus and is hoped to ease traffic congestion on the Pali and Likelike routes.

HART

HART (Honolulu Area Rapid Transit) would be a rubber-wheeled, electric powered rapid transit rail-line running on raised and underground concrete tracks. HART, running between the airport and the university, would directly serve the Honolulu urban core. It would also include a special city bus network (feeder bus system—express and local) linking outlying sections of the city and county with new HART stations, terminals, and parking lots—and it would provide generally improved bus service.

Expanded Bus System

According to a consultant's study, the Expanded Bus would be an all-bus system providing comparable service to the HART bus-rail system. It would include: (1) a greatly enlarged bus fleet (1978: 350 buses/1995: 900 buses); (2) a great increase in the number of hours in use and locations serviced; (3) much street widening and construction of roadways and facilities.

SOME COMPARISONS

	H-3 or TH-3	HART	EXPANDED BUS SYSTEM
How many miles?	(already partly built) 10.7 miles (to be built)	8.4 miles	All major highways and through-ways & many secondary streets on Oahu
Governmental Share of Cost City State Federal	— 10% 90%	20% } (LOCAL) 80%	20% — 80%
Estimated Cost to Build	Formal estimate: H3: 463 million TH3: 747 million Local share: H-3: $46 million 1980 dollars TH-3: $74 million 1980 dollars	Formal estimate: $754 million 1980 dollars. (This does not include the cost of trains, parking facilities and feeder bus system) Local share: $150 million (approx.)	No formal estimate at present (some experts say it would cost at least as much as TH-3 or HART) Local share: Estimated same as HART
Physically Displaced Persons	No one.	According to studies: about 150 households in Moiliili-McCully area & 170 businesses in Iwilei, downtown and Kakaako.	No reliable estimates yet.
Major Beneficiaries	Windward and Leeward residents, particularly commuters.	Urban Commuters (who want to use it)	All residents and visitors on Oahu (who want to use it)
When will it be operational?	5 years after construction is started again (estimated mid-late 1980s)	1989 (estimated) (5-6 years after construction begins)	1985—Estimated full operation (but would come into full use gradually)
What's Holding it up?	Legal challenges in Federal Court	State Legislature for release of funds and continued availability of federal funds	Final decision on HART

. . . and now for some pro and con arguments on each plan . . .

PRO

H-3 or TH-3

- Decrease travel time and traffic congestion between Windward and Leeward sides.
- Link major military bases like Kaneohe Marine Base and Pearl Harbor.
- Promote individual freedom of mobility through use of the automobile.

HART

- Modern design would be asset and attraction to City of Honolulu.
- Very energy efficient and relatively non-polluting form of mass transit.
- Reduce the number of private vehicles and travel time in City.

EXPANDED BUS

- Increase service to all parts of the Island.
- Reduce the need for private vehicles throughout Oahu.
- More than double present capacity of passengers.

CON

- Would lead to urban development on the Windward side.
- Disruption to existing natural environment and historical conservation land.
- Does not promote alternative energy sources for transportation.

- Honolulu too small for such a fancy system—only much larger cities can afford it.
- Increase noise and disruption for years throughout City—due to construction.
- Over-estimation of ridership will result in heavier financial burden to taxpayers and riders than now forecasted.

- Maintenance costs very high.
- Does not promote alternative energy sources for transportation.
- Would require extensive construction work on existing major streets.

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NOW...THE QUESTIONS:

I. FROM THE ABOVE INFORMATION AND DEBATE, WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHICH SYSTEM, IF ANY, YOU PREFER FOR HAWAII'S FUTURE.

(A) Please check one of the following four boxes

1☐ H-3 (4-lane) 4☐ Don't know
2☐ TH-3 (6-lane)
3☐ Neither

(B) Please check one of the following four boxes

5☐ HART 8☐ Don't know
6☐ TSM Expanded Bus
7☐ Neither

(C) If you checked "Neither" in (1) and (2)

9☐ Other .....

II. WHAT SHOULD BE DONE ABOUT THE HART SYSTEM RIGHT NOW?

(A) Do you think the State should contribute ½ of the local share (10% of total cost) for HART?

10☐ Yes
11☐ No
12☐ Don't Know

(B) Do you think the State should put up $500,000 for a study to answer the remaining questions about HART?

13☐ Yes
14☐ No
15☐ Don't Know

(C) If the State does not contribute a share of the local funding, what should the City do about HART?

16☐ Scrap the whole idea
17☐ Try to convince the State Legislature again next year
18☐ Raise whole 20% of local share on its own
19☐ Other .....
20☐ Don't know

(D) If the City raises money on its own, which of the following ways for the City to raise funds would you prefer? Please check box of any method you would favor. (Check as many as you like)

21☐ Raise property tax 26☐ Don't know
22☐ Raise passenger vehicle weight tax
23☐ Raise city parking rates
24☐ Raise tax on fuel
25☐ Other .....

III. WHAT IF THE COURTS ALLOW THE STATE TO BUILD H-3 or TH-3?

(A) Which method of raising funds presently available to the State would you prefer to raise the local share of constructing the highway? (Check as many as you like)

27☐ Raise motor vehicle registration tax
28☐ Raise state income tax
29☐ Raise general excise (sales) tax
30☐ Raise gross vehicle weight tax
31☐ Sell general obligation bonds (State must pay interest for many years)
32☐ Use tax surplus
33☐ Other .....
34☐ Don't know

IV. What kinds of sacrifices would you be willing or not willing to make personally in the future in order to lessen traffic and transportation problems in Hawaii? (Please check one box)

A. Not drive private auto on weekends	35☐ Definitely	36☐ Maybe	37☐ Never
B. Ride in a carpool	38☐ Definitely	39☐ Maybe	40☐ Never
C. Pay higher taxes	41☐ Definitely	42☐ Maybe	43☐ Never
D. Use mass transit	44☐ Definitely	45☐ Maybe	46☐ Never
E. Do more work at home	47☐ Definitely	48☐ Maybe	49☐ Never
F. Buy smaller car	50☐ Definitely	51☐ Maybe	52☐ Never
G. Buy or use bike more	53☐ Definitely	54☐ Maybe	55☐ Never
H. Buy moped	56☐ Definitely	57☐ Maybe	58☐ Never
I. Use the Bus more	59☐ Definitely	60☐ Maybe	61☐ Never
J. Walk to many places you now drive to	62☐ Definitely	63☐ Maybe	64☐ Never
K. Other	65☐ Definitely	66☐ Maybe	67☐ Never

DEMOGRAPHICS

A FEW BACKGROUND QUESTIONS. YOUR ANSWERS WILL BE COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL AND ARE FOR STATISTICAL PURPOSES ONLY.

A. Which of the following categories includes your age?

1☐ Under 25
2☐ 25 to 34
3☐ 35 to 44
4☐ 45 to 54
5☐ 55 to 64
6☐ 65 or more

B. Level of education:

1☐ Less than High School
2☐ High School Graduate
3☐ Business or Trade School
4☐ Some college (incl Community College)
5☐ 4 yr. College Graduate
6☐ Post Graduate Studies/Masters or Doctors degree

C. Ethnic background:

1☐ Japanese
2☐ Caucasian
3☐ Chinese
4☐ Filipino
5☐ Hawaiian/Part Hawaiian
6☐ Portuguese
7☐ Korean
8☐ Mixed
9☐ Other

D. Income level:

1☐ Less than $5,000
2☐ $5,000-$9,999
3☐ $10,000-$14,999
4☐ $15,000-$19,999
5☐ $20,000-$24,999
6☐ $25,000-$29,999
7☐ $30,000 and over
8☐ Not Sure

E. Party (Repub., Dem.):

1☐ Republican
2☐ Democrat
3☐ Independent
4☐ Other

F. Sex:

1☐ Male
2☐ Female